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AUTHOR Johnson, J. David; Tims, Albert R.
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ABSTRACT

A model was developed positing four factors as having a determinant influence on the desire of Mexicans for future economic relationships between their country and the United States. The factors, previously identified as occupying a central position in intercultural communication, are perceptions of shared interests, threats, homophily, and accuracy. The model was tested using data collected in a survey of 800 Mexicans identified as holding "elite" positions in three metropolitan areas. The subjects, business executives (for both Mexican-owned and American-owned companies), government officials, professors, secondary school teachers, mass media executives, university students, and labor leaders, were chosen because they could be expected to be influential in decisions affecting future relationships between their country and the United States. After having been gathered through personal interviews with the subjects, the data were submitted to LISTREL analysis, a path analysis technique involving multiple indicators of latent variables. The results were supportive of the model with an acceptable goodness of fit and with a high level of variance accounted for in the sole dependent variable. However, the results did indicate that the initial posited relationships among latent variables were more complex than first hypothesized. (Appendixes contain definitions for the elite occupations and operationalizations for the multiple indicators.) (FL)

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THE ATTITUDE OF MEXICAN ELITES TOWARD FUTURE ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE UNITED STATES: A STUDY OF INTERCULTURAL PERCEPTIONS

J. David Johnson
Department of Communication
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201

Albert R. Tims
School of Journalism and Mass Communication
University of Wisconsin-Madison
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

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ABSTRACT

THE ATTITUDE OF MEXICAN ELITES TOWARD FUTURE ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE UNITED STATES: A STUDY OF INTERCULTURAL PERCEPTIONS

This paper develops and tests a model which specifies four factors which are posited to have a determinant influence on the desire for future economic relationships between the U.S. and Mexico. The following four factors contained in the model have been previously identified as occupying a central position in intercultural communication: perceptions of shared interests, threats, homophily, and accuracy. The sample used to test the model is drawn from eight elite occupational groups within Mexican urban centers (N=800). The results are supportive of the model with an acceptable goodness of fit and with a high level of variance accounted for in the sole dependent variable. However, the results did indicate that the initial posited relationships among latent variables were more complex, than first hypothesized.

THE ATTITUDE OF MEXICAN ELITES TOWARD FUTURE ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE UNITED STATES: A STUDY OF INTERCULTURAL PERCEPTIONS

The question of what promotes closer ties between countries has long been one of central interest to intercultural communication research. More specifically, in recent years, there has been a growing international focus on how nations can foster productive, integrative, and interdependent economic relationships (e.g., Camps, 1974; Brubaker, 1980). Particularly for the United States, the question of closer ties with oil producing countries has been of crucial concern. Recently Mexico has become the major overseas supplier of oil to the United States, further reinforcing the need for a more basic understanding of what factors promote close economic relations between these two countries.

Both Mexico and the United States have an enormous stake in sound economic relations. For example, in 1976 over 62 percent of Mexican exports were purchased by the United States, nearly three quarters of all foreign direct investment came from the United States; and over $11.5 billion of Mexico's $26 billion in public and private debt was owed to U.S. private banks alone. In the last four years these figures have increased, with a similarly large proportion of Mexico's staggering $80 billion debt owed to U.S. banks.

In the past relations between the U.S. and Mexico have been strained generally by their considerably different cultural heritages and specifically by various factors such as protective agricultural policies, border disputes, illegal immigration, and excessive dependency of Mexico on the U.S. as an export market. Nevertheless, Mexico and the United States need to cooperate in finding solutions to Mexico's pressing social problems of massive unemployment, widespread poverty, and a poorly developed industrial base if either country is to benefit fully from Mexico's increasingly important natural resources.

To this end Mexico and the United States have established permanent consultive mechanisms to insure a continued interchange of information between the two countries relevant to their respective perceptions of each other. This effort was undertaken in the hope that an established channel of intercultural communication would encourage common perceptions of the mutual benefits of closer relations. The model examined here specifies four factors which affect the desire of Mexican elites for future economic relations with the United States. (See Figure 1 for an operational version of the model.) These relationships provide the necessary medium in which continued intercultural communication contacts will occur. The four independent variables specified in the model which results in a certain level of desired relationships are perceptions of: shared interests, threats, homophily, and accuracy.

Homophily has traditionally been referred to as the degree to which parties "are similar in certain attributes, such as beliefs, values, education, social status and the like." (Rogers & Shoemaker, 1971, p. 14) The degree of similarity between parties has been a central issue in intercultural communication (e.g., Prosser, 1978; Sarbaugh, 1979). Indeed it has been argued that effective communication, which results in fewer misunderstandings is likely to occur between homophilous communicators. (Rogers & Kincaid, in press) In addition, there appears to be strong tendency to select receivers like oneselve in future interactions (Rogers & Bhowmik, 1971). On the other hand, the greater the dissimilarity between cultures, the greater the likelihood that they will perceive each other as threatening; with attendant results in exacerbating conflicts between them (Prosser, 1978). Conversely the more similar parties in a system are, the less the probability that they will be resistant to closer ties in the future (Rogers & Shoemaker, 1971) and the higher their level of approval of another country generally (Nincic & Russett, 1979). Thus in the model a direct, positive relationship is specified between homophily and desire for closer ties between the United States and Mexico.

Relations between societies have often been cast in systemic frameworks with two countries viewed as system components and the relationship between them heavily dependent on the nature of their communication.[1] (Deutsch, 1966) In any system there is a constant tension between the needs of component parts to differentiate, with concomitant growth of disparate, values, attitudes and perceptions, and the need to tie the differentiated parts together to orient the larger system to common goals. (Katz & Kahn, 1978) For Mexico and the United States one common goal which they share is improved economic prosperity of the two countries. Shared interests in the model then represent the benefits which accrue from continuing relationships between the parties. Perceptions of shared interests also contribute to the overall level of approval of another country. (Nincic & Russett, 1979) For subsystems to coact successfully their perceptions of the benefits of common interests must outweigh the potential threats each perceive from the other (Smith, 1970). In the model it is predicted that there will be a direct, positive relationship between greater perceptions of shared interests and desire for future closer economic ties between the two partners.

On the other hand, perceived threats can lead to strain, conflict and eventual discontinuance of relationships. As Sarbaugh (1979) has noted, the more the other is perceived as injuring the concerned party, the less effective future communication will be, if it occurs at all. Perceived threats result from the perceptions of subsystems, in this case countries, that their individual self interest may be thwarted by the actions of the other party in this subsystem. For example, third world countries have often viewed the industrial countries as depleting their natural resources while leaving them with nothing in return, except transitory consumer goods. If this perception is widely shared, then a developing country may change the relationship between the countries to insure

there is a quid pro quo which is in their self interest. Thus in the model perceived threats are posited to relate negatively to the desire for closer economic ties with the United States on the part of Mexicans.

Systems accomplish integration toward common goals among subsystems through integrative mechanisms, which involve communication contacts between them, such as the 'consultive mechanism' established between the United States and Mexico (e.g., Galbraith, 1973). For successful integration these subsystems must communicate via these integrative mechanisms in an honest forthright manner which results in accurate perceptions of the current relationships between subsystems (Lawrence & Lorsch, 1967; Penley, 1974). As North (1967) has argued, it is perceptions we respond to, not the actual level of a variable, in international relations. It is unlikely cultures can find common grounds for coacting if their perceptions of each others actions are seriously distorted, especially in a manner which heightens perceptions of threats. In the model, then there is a positive relationship posited between accurate perceptions and closer U.S.-Mexican ties.

In any set of variables which are posited to effect one dependent variable, there can be expected to be some interrelationship among the independent variables themselves. In the model all of the exogenous (or independent variables) are posited to be associated. For example, if we look at homophily, we can see that these variables are closely intertwined. Homophily has been found to result in more accurate communication (Rogers & Shoemaker, 1971) and since the degree of homophily is associated with similarities it can be assumed that there is a strong relationship between it and shared interests and a negative relationship between it and threats.

In sum, the model examines a closely intermeshed system of variables which can be expected to have strong, determinant effects on the desire to maintain

future economic relationships between the U.S. and Mexico. All of the variables contained in the model have been previously found to play crucial roles in intercultural communication, often forming the basis for continuing relationships which provide the medium in which future communication contacts will occur.

METHOD

Sample

The data used in this study are from a survey involving a purposive quota sampling of 100 elites in each of eight occupationally defined populations in the urban areas of Mexico City, Guadalajara, and Monterrey, Mexico. The sample quotas in each of the occupational groups were drawn from exhaustive lists of positions (not individuals) in the organizations and offices defined in Appendix A. Personal interviews were conducted with the individual occupying the selected position. In the event the selected individual was not available, a substitute from the same office was interviewed. The eight occupational elite groups were: (1) business executives employed in firms owned mainly by Mexican interests, (2) business executives employed in firms owned mainly by U.S. interests, (3) mass media executives, (4) Mexican government officials, (5) Mexican labor leaders, (6) university professors, (7) secondary school teachers, and (8) university students. These elites can be expected to be more influential in decisions on future foreign economic ties; thus an examination of them is more predictive of future foreign relations (see Adler & Bobrow, 1956; Etzioni (1969).

Analysis

LISREL, a general analytical technique for estimating a linear structural equation system (i.e. path analysis) involving multiple indicators of latent variables will be used to analyze and to test the model presented here.[2] One of the unique advantages of LISREL is that, in addition to estimating

the paths contained in a model, it provides a chi-square test of the overall goodness of fit of the model to the data (Joreskog, 1974). Thus LISREL will provide a probability estimate of the fit of the entire model to the data. LISREL has several other advantages over traditional multiple regression when used to test models of the type examined here. One, it is specifically designed for the analysis of causal relationships (Joreskog, 1970). Two, it simultaneously estimates all of the parameters in a model (Joreskog, 1970). Three, it is specifically designed for the analysis of multiple indicators of latent variables (Werts & Linn, 1970). Four, LISREL permits the simultaneous specification and estimation of theoretical and measurement relations (Hauser & Goldberger, 1971).

Operationalizations

Multiple indicants are used for each of the latent variables contained in the model presented in Figure 1. Appendix B details the exact wording of each of the operationalizations. The latent endogenous variable of closer economic ties (η_1) had two observed indicants: y_1, the extent to which investment by U.S. firms was considered to be beneficial or harmful, and y_2, the desire for closer economic ties with the U.S.

The latent exogenous variable of shared interests (ξ_1) has four indicators: x_1, have American companies created a large number of jobs; x_2, have American companies increased Mexico's access to markets; x_3, have they introduced modern methods of management; and x_4, have they contributed advanced technology to Mexican firms.

Threats (ξ_2) also had four observed indicators: x_5, is competition from U.S. companies beneficial to Mexican industry; x_6, do they exploit Mexico's natural resources; x_7, do they interfere with the internal affairs of Mexico; and x_8, do you think Mexico is dominated economically by the U.S.

The first indicator (x_9) of homophily (ξ_3) asked respondents to express their general feeling toward the U.S. The other (x_{10}) is based on the discrepancy

score between the respondent's perception of where they and U.S. businessmen stand on the political spectrum. These measures of homophily are based on perception since they are more likely to lead to future actions on the part of interactants (see Rogers & Bhowmik, 1971).

Accuracy (ξ_4) scores were computed by taking the differences between respondent estimates and actual figures for the following two questions: x_{11}, percentage of Mexican business owned by Americans, and x_{12}, percentage profit U.S. companies in Mexico make annually.

Figure 1 about here

RESULTS

Table 1 contains the means, standard deviations, and correlations for the observed indicants. The general pattern of correlations of the separate indicators for threat, shared interests, and homophily is quite similar, with the indicators for threats and shared interests inversely related as would be expected. In general, the accuracy indicants, x_{11} and x_{12}, have the lowest intercorrelations with the other variables. The standard deviations are somewhat elevated, especially so for the y_2 , x_6 , x_7 , x_9 , x_{10} and x_{11} indicants.

Table 1 about here

Figure 1 contains the results for the paths (γ) between the endogenous (η) and exogenous (ξ) latent variables and also details the lamba (λ) scale factors for the observed indicants of the respective latent variables. The overall goodness of fit of the model to the data is acceptable with a χ^2 to degrees of freedom ratio of 2.641.[3] In general, the scale values are quite high showing a substantial relationship between the observed indicants and their latent variables. The first indicant is always fixed at 1 (e.g., x_1) for purposes

of identification (see Joreskog & Van Thillo, 1972). The lowest loading is that for x_8 with a value of .60. The estimated indicants for shared interests and homophily are all above 1.[4] and there is a negative loading of x_{12} on accuracy.

The gamma paths are all substantial in value ranging from γ_{11} .40 to $\gamma_{14} = -2.15$. The values for γ_{11} and γ_{13} are in the predicted direction. However, the values for γ_{12} and γ_{14} are in the opposite direction predicted in the model.

Table 2 contains the results of the phi (Φ) variance-covariance matrix for the exogenous variables. In general, except for these values associated with the (ξ_i), there are generally moderate relationships between the exogeneous variables. Except for the covariances associated with accuracy, these covariances results were predictable.

Table 2 about here

Table 3 reports the parameters associated with the measurement model. The residual for (ζ) for closer ties is extremely low indicating that the variables specified in the model account for a substantial proportion of the variance in the desire for closer economic ties with the U.S. The errors associated with measurement for the y indicators (Θ_ϵ) are moderate. However, the Θ_δ measurement errors range from moderate for $\theta_{\delta 5}$ to high $\theta_{\delta\ 1}$.

Table 3 about here

DISCUSSION

The overall goodness of fit of the model and the low residual for its sole endogenous latent variable are highly supportive of the conceptual framework

developed earlier.[5] In total, the combination of exogenous variables appear to be highly determinative of the desire for closer economic ties with the United States on the part of Mexicans. In addition, the observed indicants of the variables appear to be highly associated to their respective latent variables. However, there were two problems evidenced in the results: one, in some instance the measurement error associated with the variables was somewhat high, and, two, some of the predicted relationships between endogenous and exogenous variables, while quite substantial, were not in the predicted direction.

In general, the measurement errors associated with exogenous variables ranged from moderate to substantial. This when tied with some of the results for the scale factors point to some difficulties in the specified measurement model. In general, the shared interests, threat, and closer ties indicators behave as they would be expected to, with the measurement model for the endogenous variables exactly what you would hope for in models of this sort. There is some instability in the shared interests measures which might be accounted for by differences in perspectives of elites within Mexican societies (Tims & Johnson, 1980). While these indicators, especially x_4, which deals with the introduction of advanced technology, may be viewed as associated with shared interests among those who share a Western perspective of economic development, they also might be viewed by traditionalists within Mexican society as threats to traditional Mexican culture. So these questions may be interpreted in more than one framework, accounting for the instability of their scale factors, and some elevated measurement error variances. On the other hand, the threats indicators generated much more acceptable results for the scale factors and measurement error variances with the only problem coming in a slightly elevated θ_δ for x_8. This may be attributable to the more general, summary nature of this indicant when compared to the more direct threats elicted in the other questions.

There does appear to be some overlap between the homophily and the accuracy latent variables and the other endogenous variables. In its pattern of observed correlations homophily mirrors shared interests, which may account for both variables somewhat unstable scale factors, although it does appear that its measurement errors are only moderate. The phi matrix, however, only reveals a slight covariance between these two variables. All in all, while there appears to be some association between these variables, it is probably as much attributable to their conceptual similarity as to any measurement problems; that is perceptions of shared interests are more likely to result in perceptions of homophily.

The major problem in measurement in the model is associated with the accuracy variable. This variable is unlike other variables in the model, since it is more directly tied to the objective world, with its measurement calculated on a discrepancy between Mexican perceptions and actual percentages, Elsewhere it has been argued that subjective perceptions are the ones that individuals react to (see Rogers & Bhowmik, 1971) the fact that the other measures in the model are perceptual, may account in large part for the unstable path between this latent exogenous variable and the desire for closer ties. In addition, this variable substantially overlaps with threat measures, in that the more inaccurate the respondents are the more likely that discrepancy would be associated with threats. For example, compared to most of the respondent's estimate the level of profit in American firms (x_{12}) is quite low. Thus, inaccuracy can be closely tied to threats as we can see in the covariance between these two variables found in Table 2. The negative relationships between the two indicators of accuracy is probably attributable to their slightly different nature, that is there is a Mexican law which prohibits majority ownership of Mexican firms by Americans, but no similar legal action concerning profits.

The results for the γ_{11} and γ_{13} paths were as predicted, although the high value for the latter indicates some instability. The values for the γ_{12} and γ_{14} paths, however, were the inverse of the predicted relationships. As noted earlier, the accuracy indicants could in some instances be interpreted as actually being indicants of threats, so the results for γ_{14} actually may be supportive of the original hypotheses. In any case the relationship of accuracy with the other variables in the model may be much more complex than first suspected. The covariance matrices (phi) indicate a minimal association between accuracy and shared interests and a slightly negative relationship with homophily, which runs prior to most previous literature which suggests a positive association between homophily and accuracy. In some instance increased accuracy may result in a more informed perception which may or may not result in a perception of increased shared interests. As Smith (1970) has noted sometimes people are opposed to each other because they want opposing things, not just because of miscommunication.

The positive relationships between threats and closer ties is also an example of perhaps more subtle, counterintuitive relationships between variables. This relationship is especially problematic given the consistently inverse relationships between the respective observed indicates of these variables. Two factors may be operative here. First, with this sort of analysis technique it is difficult to determine directly the threshold effects which may be operative in relationships between two variables. That is an important combination of shared interests may overcome perceptions of threats, even when these are also strong. Second, at times countries hope to overcome threats by coopting other parties. For example, U.S. foreign policy for the last two decades, especially as evidenced by detente with the Soviet Union, has by and large rested on the premise that you can overcome threats by engaging in closer

economic ties which reward the other part for mutually beneficial actions. So in some instances perceptions of threats may result in a desire for closer relations to overcome those threats.

In conclusion, the model tested in this paper has great potential theoretical and pragmatic import. First, the model examines the role of four exogenous variables which have classically been considered as of paramount importance to intercultural and/or international communication. These variables can be argued to form the basic preconditions for the continued maintenance of relationships, economic or otherwise, between countries. Given the overall goodness of fit of the model and the extremely low residual associated with the endogenous variables it would appear that these variables are important determinants of the desire for closer economic relationships. In addition, the results reveal that the relationships between threats and accuracy and the other variables in the model may be more complex and subtle than first imagined. Second, economic relationships between the United States and Mexico have traditionally been viewed with suscpicion and apprehension on the parts of Mexicans. (Cardoso & Faletto, 1979; Horowitz, 1966) However, it would appear that both countries could benefit from increasing economic ties in the future. This model helps to systematically identify those factors which are crucial to the development of the desire for future economic ties on the parts of Mexicans, thus it could be used to improve the likelihood of continuing economic relationships between the two countries. As Wedge (1966) has noted the only way existing stereotypes/perceptions in international relations can be overcome is by understanding the underlying dynamics which determine those relationships. This model constitutes an initial step in developing this sort of understanding.

NOTES

1. Rogers and Adhikayra (1979) have recently noted the similarities between organizational and intercultural process. Indeed, if intercultural processes are viewed in systems frameworks, there are direct analogues between intercultural and organizational communication.

2. Because of space limitations a complete description of LISREL cannot be provided here. The interested reader can consult Joreskog and Sorbom (1978) for a more complete description of the program and its associated terminology.

3. Two statistics have generally been used to assess the goodness of fit of a model to the data as tested by the LISREL computer program: the χ^2 statistics probability level (see Joreskog & van Thillo, 1972) and the χ^2 to degrees of freedom ratio (see Maruyama & McGarvey, 1980). The probability level statistic is best used when comparing causal models, especially due to its sensitivity to sample sizes (Joreskog, 1974). The χ^2 to degrees of freedom ratio is best used to assess the fit of one model to the data, especially in the early stages of model testing, with a ratio of less than 5 to 1 indicating an acceptable fit of a model to the data (Maruyama & McGarvey, 1980). Thus the goodness of fit of the model reported here demonstrates an acceptable fit of the model to the data.

4. Parameter values greater than 1 can be indicative of instability in the model (see Fink and Mabee, 1978).

5. The residuals associated with the correlation matrix were also quite low, all save one falling under -.1, further supporting the model. The t-values and standard errors for the parameter estimates were also very good for a model of this support, except for some problems with the gammas, especially those associated with threats and accuracy.

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TABLE 1

PEARSON CORRELATIONS, MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR THE OBSERVED INDICATORS

Indicator	y_1	y_2	x_1	x_2	x_3	x_4	x_5	x_6	x_7	x_8	x_9	x_{10}	x_{11}	x_{12}
y_1	1.000													
y_2	.464	1.000												
x_1	.254	.216	1.000											
x_2	.294	.245	.131	1.000										
x_3	.215	.192	.180	.212	1.000									
x_4	.356	.200	.230	.249	.399	1.000								
x_5	-.583	-.422	-.227	-.276	-.162	-.321	1.000							
x_6	-.378	-.302	-.140	-.191	-.100	-.148	.365	1.000						
x_7	-.425	-.355	-.105	-.199	-.101	-.173	.390	.500	1.000					
x_8	-.243	-.187	-.003	-.166	-.005	-.057	.208	.350	.298	1.000				
x_9	.437	.334	.142	.181	.179	.210	-.319	-.203	-.243	-.130	1.000			
x_{10}	.455	.356	.121	.234	.150	.201	-.422	-.391	-.203	-.243	-.130	1.000		
x_{11}	-.231	-.204	.033	-.103	-.004	-.077	.257	.242	.260	.252	-.135	-.279	1.000	
x_{12}	.285	.182	.166	.100	.100	.210	-.218	-.250	-.280	-.202	.091	.244	-.150	1.000
Mean	2.841	3.172	3.698	2.853	3.591	3.244	2.414	3.021	2.951	3.730	3.897	7.068	3.987	2.302
Standard Deviation	.981	1.329	.838	.909	.646	.855	1.044	1.029	1.063	.556	1.050	1.942	1.401	.722

TABLE 2

PHI MATRIX FOR EXOGENOUS VARIABLES

	1	2	3	4
1	.14			
2	-.14	.47		
3	.11	-.31	.26	
4	-.07	.28	-.18	.15

TABLE 3

THETA DELTA, THETA EPSILON AND PSI VALUES FOR THE MODEL

Parameter	Value	Parameter	Value
11	.04	6	.63
1	.39	7	.59
2	.65	8	.83
1	.86	9	.74
2	.80	10	.61
3	.73	11	.85
4	.58	12	.85
5	.53		

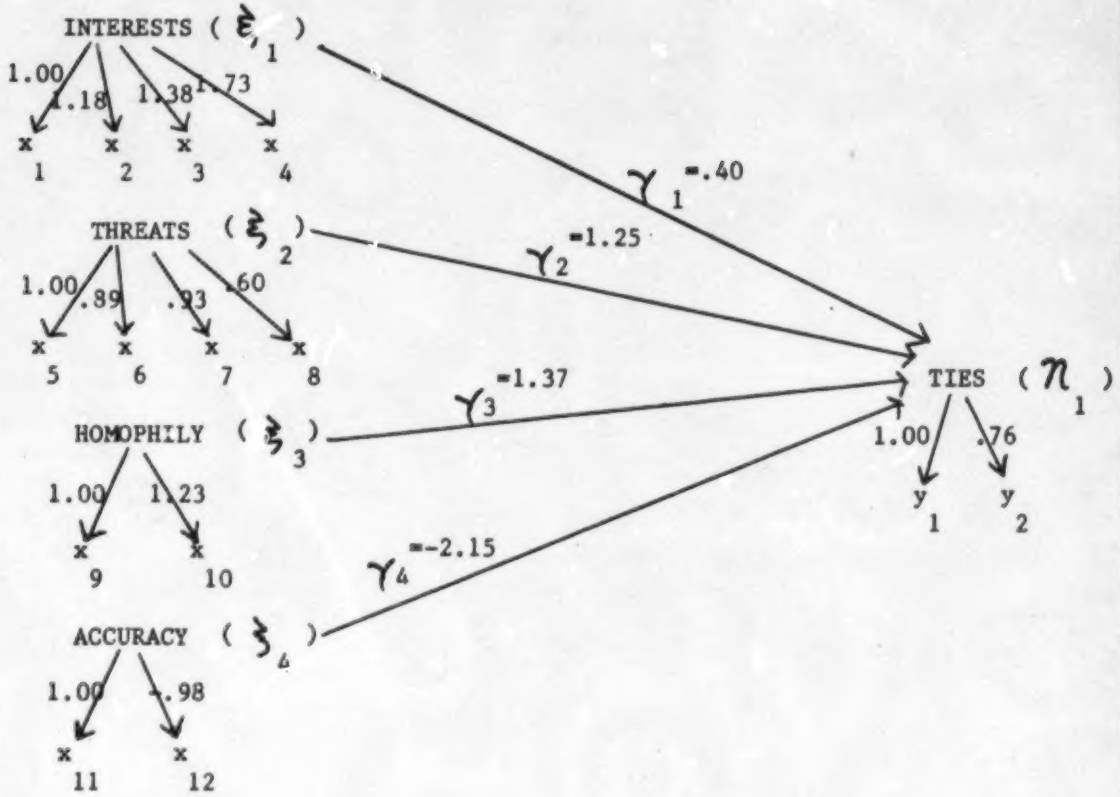

FIGURE 1

RESULTS FOR MAXIMUM LIKELIHOOD SOLUTION OF MODEL*

* χ^2 =177.16; probability level=.0001; ratio=2.64; d.f.=67

Appendix A

Definitions of the Strategic Elite Quotas

Listed below are the operational definitions of the audiences which guided the sample selection process.

Business executives employed by Mexican companies. All Mexican nationals who hold positions of high responsibility, such as directors, presidents, general managers, and department heads reporting to president or general manager, in medium or large firms which are wholly-owned by Mexican investors or proprietors; including but not limited to firms which are members of the Confederacion de Camaras Industriales, CONACINTA, CONCANACO, and the Union Social de Empresarios Mexicanos (excluding foreign firms which may also be members).

Business executives employed by U.S. companies. All Mexican nationals who hold positions of high responsibility, such as directors, presidents, general managers, and department heads reporting to president or general manager, in medium or large firms which are affiliates or subsidaries of U.S. corporations which are owned substantially by U.S. investors; including but not limited to firms which are members of the American Chamber of Commerce in Mexico, A.C., and the American Chambers of Commerce in Guadalajara and Monterrey.

Media leaders. Publishers, directors, editors, and senior journalist specializing in political, economic, and social affairs on major newspapers and magazines, including but not limited to Excelsior, Novedades, El Sol de Mexico, Ovaciones, La Prensa, El Dia, El Nacional, El Universla, El Heraldo, Avance, El Informador, El Occidental, and El Diario.

Owners, directors, producers, and program managers of major radio and TV networks and stations, and news writers, announcers, and commentators of public affairs programs; including but not limited to XEVIP, Nucleo Radio Mil, Org. Radio Centro, XEX, XEW, Canal 2, Canal 4, Canal 5, Canal 8, Canal 12; Radio Guadalajara, Radio Commerciales, Canal 4, Canal 6.

Directors, editors, and writers in major press agencies and news services such as NOTIMEX and INFORMEX.

Members of journalist associations such as Club Primera Plana, Club de Corresponsales de Prensa, Associacion Mex. de Periodistas de Radio y TV, Associacion Nac. de Periodistas.

Government officials. Top-level and middle-level executives and administrators (from head of department through sub-secretary) in the following ministries and organizations, and others with similar functions: Presidencia, Relaciones Exteriores, Governacion, Hacienda y Credito Publico, Industria y Comercio. Patrimonio Nacional, Turismo, Defensa, Relaciones Publicas, Petroleos Mexicanos, Banco de Mexico, Nacional Financiera, Banco Nac. de Commercio Exterior, Plan LERMA, Consejo Nac. de Ciencia y Technologia, Instituto Mex. de Comercio Exterior.

Top-level officials in state and municipal governments in Guadalajara, Monterrey, and Federal District, and important executives of regional administrations in Guadalajara and Monterrey of the federal ministries and national institutions listed above, where applicable.

Members of the Federal Congress (Senate and Chamber of Deputies). Directors of the Federal Congress (Senate and Chamber of Deputies). Directors and important department heads of the permanent staff of all political parties (PRI, PAN, PARM, PPS), including MNJR.

Labor leaders. All officers and full-time staff members at the professional level of major labor organizations in the three cities, including selected very large local unions with salaried staffs; all national unions for specific trades and industries; all regional or city labor confederations located in the three cities; and all national labor confederations.

University professors. Rectors, principal administrative department heads, deans, heads of schools and faculties, heads of academic departments, and teaching faculty members of all ranks except those who are teaching assistants (graduate students) or occasional lecturers; but only in the universities listed below for university administrators; and only in the schools or faculties listed below, within these universities for teaching faculty members. (See "University students" head for relevant lists).

Secondary school teachers. All full-time teachers of all subjects, and all full-time principals and administrators, in all public and private schools (colegios) in the three cities which offer a preparatoria course.

University students. All matriculated students at the undergraduate and graduate levels in the following schools or faculties: Ciencias Sociales, Ciencias Politicas, Economia, Administracion Publica, Administracion de Empresas, Contraduria, Comercio, Derecho, Periodismo, Turismo, and any other schools or faculties very closely related; but only in the following Universities and Institutions: UNAM, Instituto Politechnico Nacional, El Colegio de Mexico, Instituto Panamericano de Alta Direccion de Empresa, Universidad Iberoamericana, CIDE (Centro de Investigacion y Socencia Economicas), A.C. Univ. Autonoma Metropolitana, Univ. de Guadalajara, Univ. Augonoma de Guadalajara, ITESCO, ITESM, UANL, and UDEM.

APPENDIX B

OPERATIONALIZATIONS FOR THE MULTIPLE INDICATORS

Desire for Close U.S. Relations

y_1 In your opinion, is investment by American firms in Mexico, on balance, more beneficial or more harmful for our country? Much more (beneficial) (harmful) or only somewhat?

y_2 As you know, the Mexican and American economies are closely linked by trade and other economic ties. Considering the present closeness of Mexican-American economic relations, which do you think would be best for Mexico in the future---closer economic ties with the U.S. than at present, less close ties, or about the same as we have now? (If "closer" or "less close") Much (closer) (less close) or only somehwhat?

Shared Interests

x_1 As far as you know, have American companies in Mexico created a large number of jobs for Mexicans, a moderate number, only a few, or none at all?

x_2 Now I am going to read you some views some people have about American companies operating in this country. For each one, please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree by choosing a phrase on this card (HAND CARD). First how about....? (BATTERY A).
American companies increase Mexico's income by providing access to foreign markets.

x_3 (BATTERY A) They introduce modern and efficient ways of business management.

x_4 (BATTERY A) American companies have contributed a great deal of advanced technology to Mexico.

Threats

x 5 All things considered, do you think that competition from U.S. companies in Mexico is more beneficial or more harmful to Mexican industry? Much more (beneficial) (harmful) or only somewhat?

x 6 (BATTERY A) They exploit the natural resources of Mexico without giving adequate compensation.

x 7 (BATTERY A) They often interfere in the internal affairs of Mexico.

x 8 To what extent, if any, do you think that Mexico is dominated economically by the U.S.---a great extent, somwhat, not very much, not at all?

Homophily

x 9 Please use this card to tell me your feelings about various countries (HAND CARD). First, how about Brazil--do you have a very good, good, neither good nor bad, bad, or very bad opinion of Brazil: Next, how about the United States?

x 10 (This indicant was based on a discrepancy score computed on the differences in the following two questions. Scores were computed in a manner such that greater discrepancies resulted in lower homophily scores). Here is a card showing the political range from the far left to the far right (HAND CARD). Please tell me what position on that card best represents your own political position? .... How about U.S. businessman in Mexico? (ONE ANSWER FOR EACH)

Accuracy

(The accuracy questions were based on the discrepancies between Mexican estimates and actual statistical figures for U.S. business operations in Mexico. Scores were calcualted so that closer estimates resulted in higher levels of accuracy.)

x 11 Just as a rough guess, about what percentage of all business and industry in Mexico would you say is owned by Americans?

x 12 Just as a guess, about what percentage profit each year do you imagine that U.S. companies make in Mexico, on the average?